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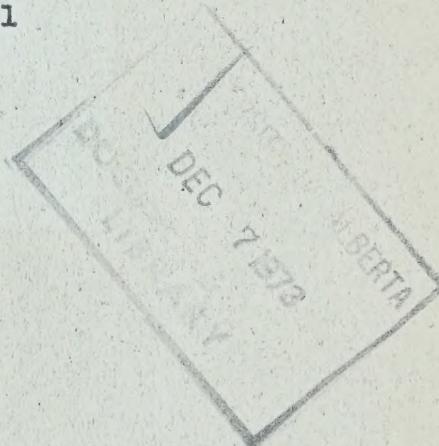
SPECIAL POLITICAL SURVEY

Number 103

Winter, 1946

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SURVEYS SECTION

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INTRODUCTION:

A group of 162 community leaders were intensively questioned about their political orientation. These people lived in villages and cities throughout the American Zone. Their replies to the questioning can be said to represent attitudes of an alert and sophisticated but small segment of the population. The influence on the New Germany of this portion of the population is, however, probably magnified by the positions held within the communities. Since many of those interviewed were political leaders their interest in politics as a livelihood goes without saying.

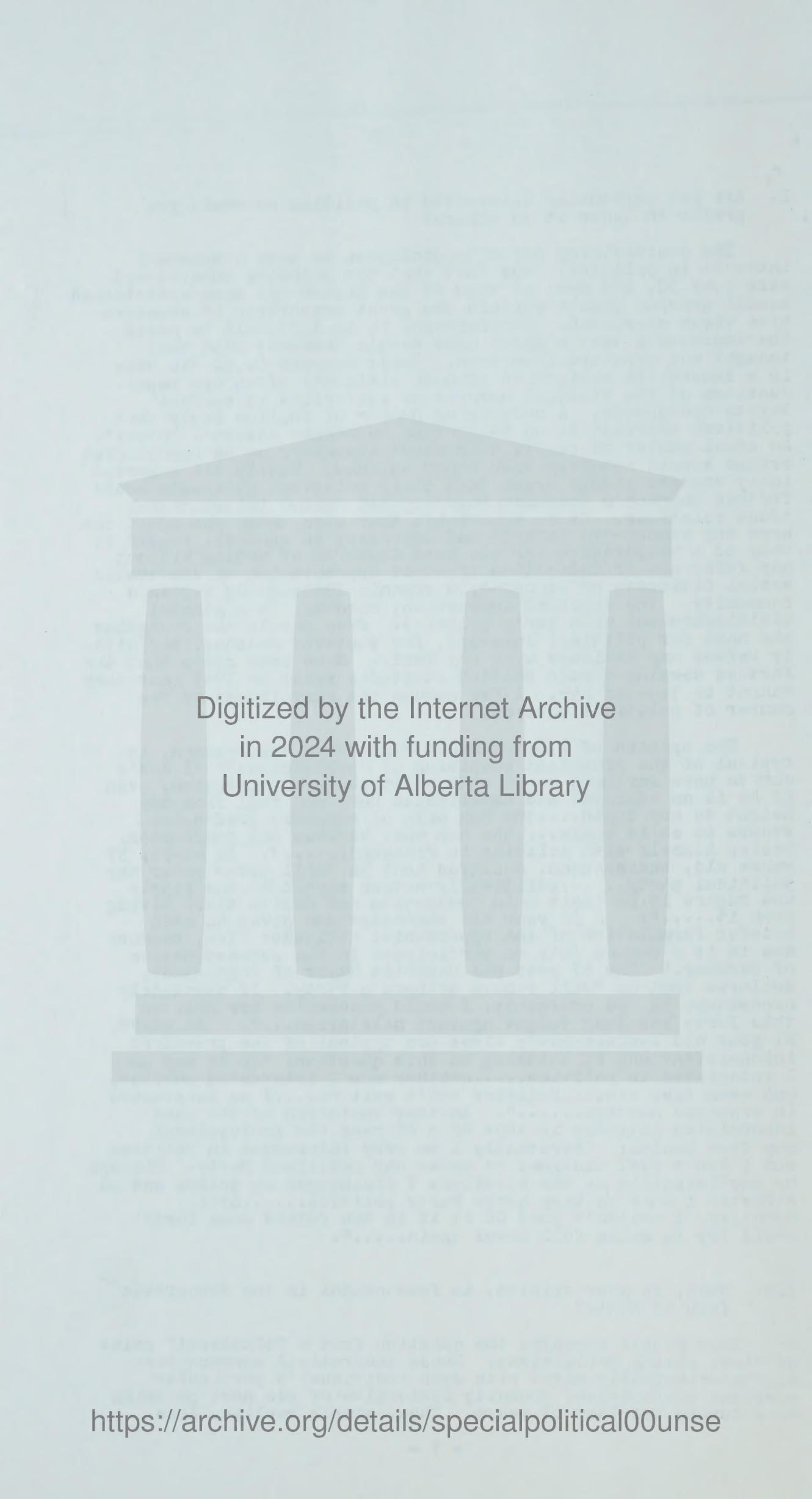
I. Are you personally interested in politics or would you prefer to leave it to others?

The overwhelming majority professes to have a personal interest in politics. The fact that the majority interviewed were over 50, and most of them of the higher and more established social groups, should explain the great proportion of conservative views expressed. Furthermore, it is difficult to avoid the impression that a great many people answered what they thought was expected from them. Their answers (e.g. "to vote is a democratic obligation of each citizen") often are reproductions of the standard phrases of editorials in current German newspapers. A surprising number of replies imply that political interest is an obligation to regain national "honor". An equal number of people talk about democracy as an opportunist bridge toward equality with other nations. Nearly all commercially engaged people argue that their political interests would further Germany's economic recovery and foster international trade relations. It is remarkable that even those who admit the need for democratic methods and democracy in general, regard it only as a preparation for the mere function of voting without any reference or indication of their appreciation of democratic social attitudes or democracy's organic functioning within a community. The dominant impression, however, is a general disillusionment with party politics. Even people who recognise the need for political interest, for whatever reasons, definitely refuse any dealings with any Party. Some even state that the Parties displayed such selfish attitudes prior to 1933 that they cannot be trusted now. A few demand the curtailment of the number of political parties.

The opinion of a 64 year old Regensburg businessman, is typical of the prevalent suspicion of "politicians": "I don't want to have anything to do with politics....a politician, even if he is an educated and experienced man, can fall from any height to any depth....the man with an economic profession stands on solid basis....the man who, besides his profession, busies himself with politics is finished.....". An ex-PG, 37 years old, businessman, declares that he "will never enter any political party.....politically active should be the people who regard it as their main occupation and derive their living from it.....". A 51 year old businessman gives an even briefer formulation of the opportunist attitude: "Yes, because now it is a German duty to participate in the reconstruction of Germany." The 57 year old Catholic Mayor of Ingolstadt, declares that he "will remain without a Party. If absolutely necessary, in an emergency, I would underwrite the SPD, as this Party has long fought against militarism....". An ex-PG, 61 year old businessman's views are typical of the prevalent inconsistent way of thinking on this question: "In no way am I interested in politics....neither was I interested earlier, and even less now....Politics don't suit me....I am interested in economic matters.....". Another variation of the same inconsistent attitude is that of a 42 year old professional man from Munich: "Personally I am very interested in politics but I don't feel inclined to enter any political Party. Through my participation in the elections I discharged my duties and as a Doctor I want to keep above Party politics.....Still, naturally, I wouldn't just OK it if in the future some Party would try to seize full power again.....".

Ques. What, in your opinion, is fundamental in the democratic form of State?

Most people answered the question from a "classical" point of view, giving definitions. These theoretical answers were characteristically mixed with each individual's particular personal preferences, probably indicative of his most pressing need during the last 13 years. Thus, simple replies; like



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"freedom of thought", "freedom of speech", "free expression of one's views", "elections", -- often expressed in only one or two sentences -- are the most frequent. There is surprisingly little comment on, what one may call, applied interpretation of the democratic state-machinery, discussing difficulties and pre-conditions as they arise in current everyday life. Most of these short replies are either unconvincing repetitions of phrases; or are suggestive of desired abstract principles, the technical workings or real contents of which do not seem to be well understood by the respondent.

A 49 year old farmer, with a weekly income of RM 30.- gives a one sentence answer: "Freedom of expression and free trade." A 35 year old professional man, recent PW, states: "Every man needs individual freedom in his personal life. It is, however, his duty toward the State in which he lives, to put all his capacities at the disposal of that State". A 39 year old woman sees the essentials in mere avoidance: "The fundamental in a democratic state-form is that no dictators are introduced and children will be brought up freely.....".

Of the 162 replies, a large proportion mentions equality as a fundamental requirement, but only 2 specify racial equality among others named.

Three respondents devoted some attention to not merely structural requirements of democracy. A 49 year old Regensburg free-thinker says: "Ready participation of all in political activities and, especially, the abolition of property discrimination. Therefore, it is false to speak of a democratic form of state which creates only formal democracy and in which the citizen with greater capital means, can distort its meaning." A middle-aged Ingolstadt writer maintained that "the fundamental thing in the democratic state-form is not the formal function of parties, elections and representations, but the spirit animating all of them. The Weimar Republic provided all the possibility to practice these formal democratic rights. It was ruined because it lacked the right spirit.....". Following a similar argument by a 59 year old businessman, he concludes: "The form of state must be able to plant the spirit of justice in the soul of the people. It must create laws which lend bearing and custom to the citizen to become a worthy member of the nation."

IIb. Is it possible to establish in Germany, a democracy based on the principles of the western democratic state-forms? Why not, if not? What modifications would you suggest?

Sixty-nine of the respondents replied with a definite or qualified YES, and 55 with a definite or qualified NO. Only 38 of the 162 respondents were uncertain and avoided a definite answer.

Similarly to the previous questions, the dominating fear is the possibility of many Parties "like before 1933". Most people seem to believe that a democratic system would lead to the splitting of parties and the emergence of small splinter-groups. There are numerous suggestions that the number of political parties should be limited. Most people favor a two-party system though some of them would allow four. Fairly frequent is the suggestion of three parties: left (visualizing the unity of SPD and KPD), center and right. All emphasize the imperative need for political unity during the period of reconstruction. One 20 year old ex-PG, woman school-teacher -- who admits that she has never experienced a democracy and does not know much about it -- thinks that, even if democracy is the aim, for the time being a "mild degree" of dictatorship is unavoidable. A great number of respondents think that the Weimar Constitution was essentially correct and its failure was due to the inadequacy of

its leaders, the unscrupulous nature of the reactionary opposition and to the proportional representation system which lead to the splinter-parties.

There is a large proportion of anglo-philia noticeable. At least half of those who answered in the affirmative, mentioned the British and their constitution as the example to follow. Many of them qualify, however, "without a Monarch and with a President instead". The conviction that the British party-system and political practices work well and are satisfactory is surprisingly widespread and uniform. A substantially smaller proportion suggests the American Constitution, especially its federal aspect, as worthy of copying. A noticeable minority mentions Switzerland as the desirable example, though almost always in connection with "neutrality".

A 37 year old, Marburg man, of academic profession, says: "It will be difficult to establish Democracy in Germany on the lines of the western states. Democracy does not arise from nothing; from the nothingness into which Nazism has pushed Germany. For a transition period, at least, certain democratic privileges would have to be curtailed for the sake of democracy itself. Those who cry for radical democracy today, are usually reckless reactionnaires who want to exploit the freedom or are determined to divert attention from their own political past."

III. Do you think that M.G. could order or undertake something to help the building of a democratic form of state in Germany?

Typical of the ideological confusion is that most of the replies are mere statements of individual needs or desirable means, without exception identified with democracy.

The most frequent demand is for the unification of Germany and the immediate abolition of the Zonal system. One respondent flatly states that the Zonal arrangement "must cease". Parallel with this, with equal intensity, is demanded the reestablishment of German economic prosperity. Many respondents regard this, more or less, as an obligation or duty of the Military Government. Many more, however, in more reasoned statements, say that no democratic development can be expected until, at least, a reasonable minimum of economic standards are reestablished. Some think that the "industrial skill and cultural standing of Germany justifies a standard of living, corresponding to the other European nations". In the same category falls the demand of those who would like to see unemployment eliminated as it may breed "new Hitlers".

Denazification is the second most frequent topic. While a few demand "the merciless completion of the denazification program", the overwhelming majority pleads for a more humane execution of it. Most of the respondents plead for a differentiation between the harmful and criminal type of Nazis, and those who joined the Party in the best of faith believing the idealistic pronouncements. A 65 year old educational leader argues that the US conception of denazification is mistaken as those who joined the Party after 1937 are really more guilty because "by then it was possible to see the original phrases were only used to camouflage their real intentions". Several people insist that denazification should be turned over to Germans because they alone are intimate with local conditions. (The survey was conducted at the end of February before the issuing of the new denazification law in the US zone.) Together with this demand goes the frequent opinion that the real and proven anti-Nazi should be given more scope and used by M.G. as their reliable allies, thereby introducing, at least, one strata of Germans into power and authority. They ask for the support of the democratic forces and

suppression of anti-democratic elements. A great number of respondents express disapproval of the admission of the Bavarian Royalist Party.

A sizeable group regrets that no youth-policy exists. They think that the most potential element in Germany, youth, are forced to drift and, in many cases, quite unjustly are branded and excluded from constructive work.

Two respondents, both of them of the more educated group, expressed the hope that no further "national humiliation" and perpetual talking about "the sins of the past" will be continued. The dragging down of traditional ideals and belittling of national features can lead only to reaction and would lead to opposite results than those aimed at.

Many respondents, strongly dependent on area and district, express the view that the behaviour of the occupation troops is a decisive factor in educating people for democracy. Personal behaviour, impartiality in official dealing, and severity against offenders, is demanded. G.I. attacks on civilians, lack of public discipline, are "helping the Nazis". The occupation itself "should be an example of democracy".

Other demands voiced include: return of PGs, the prevention of Churches mixing in politics, more executive power for the land-governments, more and better papers and periodicals, and more encouragement for Trade Unions. A 55 year old woman, a Marburg University Professor, answered the question with the sentence: "People should be forced to read 'Mein Kampf'".

Several respondents express satisfaction with the occupation, and its measures, claiming that it saved Germany from inevitable civil war.

IV. What do you think of MG's method of giving daily more and more power to the Germans themselves?

The brevity and uniformity of the replies indicate that no alternative solution has been thought of by the respondents. With one single exception, all 162 replies are in the affirmative, more of them expressing great satisfaction with the method. The one dissenting voice comes from a 39 year old Catholic priest who maintains that it is too early to give power to German authorities, and the hurried transfer of power will lead MG to favor the more virile parties at the expense of those who have had little time as yet to organize themselves.

There is an almost unanimous demand that MG should retain, at least, the power of final control and final decision. A surprising number of respondents express freely their scepticism regarding German political ripeness and don't conceal their view that they regard occupation as useful and even necessary. The view that "Germans are not yet ripe" is often used even by ex-Nazi Party members.

Even among those who wholeheartedly approve the method of gradual handing over of power, the chief anxiety seems to center around the method of selection of new personnel. Most respondents feel that if American forces are withdrawn too soon inefficient officials will capture responsible positions. As one respondent put it, "opportunist, careerist little men backed by American power will only undermine democracy's prestige and will result in apathy". People will judge the regime by the officials they come in contact with, and will say that "the old SCHNEINE are there again".

In about 75 per cent of the replies the issue is connected with the question of denazification. Most respondents, the majority of them not ex-PG's, think that the denazification methods are unjust and alienate a great number of people who could be useful and constructive. On the other hand, at least, 10% of the respondents thought that the gradual admission to power will prevent Germans from feeling that "things are done for them". The method is frequently approved also because "Germans, after all, know the conditions better than Americans". There are occasional warnings against the irresponsible use of the word "democracy" which, if not backed by the actions of the new Government officials, will only lead to general scepticism.

A few respondents think that it is impossible to speak of self-government or even "power in German hands" while the country is cut into four zones.

V. Which political Party suits you best? Have you always liked such or similar parties?

Of the 162 respondents, 67 expressed preference of the CSU or CDU; 47 for the SPD; 9 for the KPD; 7 for the LDP; and 2 for the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, which exists in the British Zone. The remaining 30 respondents were not certain about their choice.

Most of the respondents who found the CSU or CDU best, used to vote before 1933 for the Zentrum, the Deutsche-Nationale, or the Bayerische Volkspartei. At least half of the supporters of CDU or CSU maintain that it is the "continuation" of the Zentrum or the Bayerische Volkspartei. Similarly, about half expressed this preference because of the religious character of the CSU and CDU. The general impression is that respondents prefer the CSU and CDU 1) as a party based on religious principles; 2) a party defending individual property and uncontrolled economy; 3) a party of the "middle-way".

The overwhelming majority of the 47 who expressed preference for the SPD described themselves as adherents of that party before 1933. Nearly all of them regard it as the most moderate and most progressive Party which "serves the interest of the greatest number of citizens". Several of the SPD sympathisers express their hope for a united workers' Party in Germany although they emphasize their dislike of forcible methods in bringing it about. Most of the ex-Nazi-Party members preferred the CDU or CSU. Only two are among the 47 who expressed their sympathy for the SPD.

A consistent ideology is expressed by the nine respondents who expressed preference for the KPD. With one exception they mentioned the KPD as the most active and the most unselfish in pursuing national and general interests of the people. Only one mentioned the KPD's stand on a united Germany as the chief reason for his choice.

The Liberal Democrats claim that this Party is the nearest to the Western democratic parties and, therefore, the most likely to help to establish equal relations with them. It appears in the main, that the elderly, conservative type of higher officials in the higher income groups, support the Liberal Democrats.

Continuity in the pre-1933 and present political allegiance is noticeable mainly among the Social Democrats and, to a lesser

extent, among the Communists. This, of course, is due to the disappearance of the pre-1933 right-wing Parties. On the ground of the opinions expressed, at least, 60% of those who named the CDU and CSU as their favorite Party, can be regarded as the former members of the Zenturm, the Bavarian Peoples Party, or the Deutsche-Nationale.

VI. Why do you like this Party more than others?

Supporters of the CSU and CDU justify their attitude most often with the religious and Christian disposition of these two Parties. It is noteworthy that most of the arguments in support of allegiance to CSU or CDU are negative and are based on supposed avoidances and far less on positive features in their programs. They are said to be "not dictatorial", "do not believe in class-war", they are "not extreme and believe in middle-way", they are "not materialistic", ---or, because the respondent has "no confidence in the left-wing parties". One person maintains that his preference is due to the fact that the first elections have shown that the CSU and CDU were the strongest Parties. Several respondents believe that support for these parties is likely to gather most foreign sympathy for Germany. One ex-Nazi-Party member says that his preference is due to the fact that the "CDU cares for the troubles of the little-Nazis". Several elderly men with academic education believe that the CDU and CSU "will conserve cultural and moral values". Not a single respondent supporting the CSU or CDU, specified any definite and positive social or economic feature in the program of these Parties as his reason for support.

Among supporters of the SPD the view is general that the SPD is "the only democratic Party today". An equally high number liked the Party because it does not interfere with religion, keeps religion separate from politics and regards it as a private matter. Many supporters of the SPD believe that its leaders are "the best experts in matters of economic reconstruction", that it is "a Party able to compromise", that "socialization of the main industries would minimize the danger of future wars", and that the "SPD wants to transform the social system to serve the interest of all classes". Several respondents think that "it is the least compromised of all parties" and that "it does not harbor Nazis". Most of the recent converts to SPD believe the KPD to be "undemocratic" and the CDU "a refuge of reactionary elements". Several respondents expressed their hope for a united worker's party though they were not all sure whether the time was ripe for it.

A 64 year old Chamber of Commerce official who hesitated to support the CSU, says: "...because it unites the quiet reconstruction-minded, patient elements.....also the SPD has an attractive program, especially since they have given up their demand for the separation of Church and State... whether the SPD or the CDU will govern us, will not make much difference....only if the SPD and the KPD would unite would there be a danger of renewed class-war...." A 47 year old Evangelic church-goer says: "...it corresponds best to my Christian and German sense of responsibility.....Though religion and politics should not be mixed, still, a Christian must remain a Christian even in politics...." A 59 year old Catholic priest writes: "only on the basis of religion and Christian teachings can a stable, democratic society be built....". The CDU attracts in its ranks people "who will always act under deeply religious motives....only such people are qualified to tackle the problems of today....".

A Stuttgart editor, an SPD supporter, summarizes his attitude thus: ".... because, 1) in my view, it aims at international understanding and peaceful co-operation between nations, 2) seems to be most tolerant in spiritual matters, and 3), because it has the sincere desire to make Germany a clean and social country worthy of living in it. ..." A high-school teacher, 65, one time persecuted by the Nazis, says: "... the SPD is today the only really democratic Party.. and it has more experience, through Trade Union activities, than any other political Party... though I am religious, I disapprove of the Church's participation in the CDU... in economic matters, also, I have the greatest confidence in the SPD.." A Catholic worker, 59, states: "I have chosen the SPD because it represents my economic and social group and gives me free hand in my religious and private matters. In contrast to the CDU, the SPD distinguishes itself by a really democratic attitude... its past testifies that the SPD is qualified in economic, as well as in political matters, to face the problems of reconstruction".

A KPD supporter gives the following view: "... the United German Socialist Party, as the successor of the SPD and KPD, is the party of the German future. Present developments can not be imagined without it... if it does not come, the bridge to Germanys future will be missing ... Germany, just like England, must develop a united workers' Party..." Other KPD supporters regard the ideological basis of the KPD as the most just and even as the "most Christian". They believe it to be the most active supporter of a clean and benefical social system for all.

VII. Do you think that the German people as a whole, are responsible in any way for the Nazis coming to power and that they were able to establish a strong regime and strict controls over everything, in order to be able to conduct a war, etc. How far does this feeling of responsibility go and what could the Germans have done to prevent these developments? If no feeling of responsibility, why not? Why does he think then that the Allies speak of the collective guilt of Germans?

Most respondents answer these questions with lengthy speculations analysing the causes of the rise of Nazism. Ninety of them concentrate on the factors which, in their view, had to lead to dictatorship and only about one in ten ventures to picture what positive steps could have been taken to prevent it. The whole attitude gives the impression of an attempt at justification rather than honest analysis of missed opportunities. The replies were examined according to groups professing the same Party allegiance and lead to the conclusion that the main divisions, i.e. CDU, SPD and KPD followers, have in broad outlines each a different set of arguments and individual type of reasoning on the subject.

Those professing to support the CDU and CSU seem to use as their main argument that under the prevailing conditions in the early 1930's it was idealism and misery which drove the German people into supporting the NSDAP. The intolerable chaos of party politics, the threatening left-domination and, above all, the widespread unemployment are named as the main factors leading to Nazism. Collective guilt for what happened is flatly refused without exception. A sprinkling of respondents admit a certain degree of responsibility for not having been more active against the Nazis, or for having been too credulous regarding their promises. Frequent is the argument that Hitler kept his promises up to 1937-8, made an end to unemployment, created prosperity and obliterated the chaotic party-political situation. Very rarely is reference made to the methods by which this was achieved or to what logical results these methods had to lead. More than half the respondents argue that if the German

people are responsible, so are the Allies, who were in a better position to know what was going on in Germany and still kept up cordial diplomatic relations with the Hitler regime. Some even describe this as encouragement for those who vacillated in their belief of the Nazis. This "foreign support" is often mentioned as completely invalidating any argument of German guilt or responsibility. Bishop Wurm is quoted saying that "Hitler got better support from abroad than Stresemann who represented German democracy". On the other hand, Jackson's statement is often quoted to prove that there was inner resistance to the regime. Almost unanimously it is maintained that no one knew the extent of terror and the methods applied in the KZs. Most respondents picture a chaotic Germany in the 1930s, a strong desire for a strong man, a credulous Germany handing over power to Hitler, a satisfactory regime for about 5 years when, "taking his mask off", Hitler proved to the Germans that they were mislead. Taking an over all picture, the economic argument, the emphasis on the oppressive unemployment and social disintegration, is the chief explanation of the Nazis coming into power. Typical of the complete lack of fundamental analysis is a 64 year old Bavarian bankdirector's remark that "Hindenburg was an honest military man" and only his bad advisers made him bring this disaster upon Germany. Several respondents maintain that only those are guilty who directly participated in atrocities. Significantly, not a single respondents mentioned the "saving Germany from Communism" argument. Most of them referred only to the "chaotic political conditions". The issue of collective guilt is described as simply "the will of the victor to impose his conditions" or, in a few cases, as a diversionary measure on the part of the Allies to cover up their own responsibility.

A 55 year old, Catholic man of academic profession says: " We have lost this war and we can only regret all the devastation and all the murdered people, but never and in no moment has it been in our power to prevent this war. And when I say our, I mean the German people."

A 20 year old, woman teacher, an ex-party member, who doesn't find one among the existing Parties worthy of her support, writes: "The German people are responsible in that Hitler came to power. After all, they have elected him. In the beginning Hitler kept all his promises. Then, he broke his promises but most people noticed this only too late. No one could imagine what consequences Hitler's policy would have. The German people did not know that Hitler had planned war and, therefore, they were not in a position to prevent it. For the same reason the German people can not be held guilty for all the crimes committed by Hitler. When, in spite of this, the Allies so obstinately cling to the collective guilt theory, it only proves how little understanding they are prepared to show, or are able to have, towards us!" The same motive that "the Allies don't know our circumstances and they cannot understand the events of the last 12 years in Germany" is frequently used to illustrate an entirely naive and fatalistic attitude. A farmer of 58, ex-PP and a CDU supporter says: "Everything was a part of world events directed by God's hand, and no man could change this. The Americans and the English could have prevented this world catastrophe if only they had influenced the Polish nation. The question of the Corridor could have been settled without war. The western Powers also have a little guilt in this catastrophe. Germany was economically in the way of the others. Even if a Scheidemann or an Ebert had lead us everything would have happened the same way as it did turn out."

Among the group of SPD supporters a very large percentage is inclined to admit the responsibility of Germans but no collective guilt. German responsibility is described as missed opportunities, lack of resolute action and credulity. The argument of other countries' responsibility is also very frequent. Many argue that the cordial diplomatic support received by the Nazis, convinced who wavered. Lack of interference with Hitler's aggressive plans, especially at the time of the occupation of the demilitarized zone in 1938, is deplored. The general approach, in the case of SPD supporters, is more analytical. A large proportion blames the economic influences, "capitalists", "big industrialists", "monopoly capital" for its alliance with the NSDAP. Frequent is the criticism that the working classes did not use their basic weapon: to strike against Hitler. The lack of unity among the workers' parties in 1933 is also mentioned as a general responsibility of the German workers. Overwhelming is the argument that the economic and social misery and, above all, mass-unemployment helped Hitler into power. A 37 year old ex-PG, describing himself as "Mitläufer" and, at present, SPD supporter, says that "without his wonderful recipe for unemployment and party political chaos, Hitler's nordic theories, his anti-semitism and other theories would not have brought him more than 100,000 votes..". Many respondents go in detail about economic discrimination against Germany, tariff policies, and world-political social and economic motives which, in their view, were openly discriminatory against the Weimar Republic. At least half the respondents mention with pride that the SPD was the only party which voted in 1933 against the "Emergency Powers Bill" which finally gave free hand to Hitler. One respondent uses the argument that Nuremberg should prove to the whole world that the German people had no chance of opposition against the terror established by the Nazis.

A worker, 37, states that "the German people as such are not guilty but do have a certain responsibility. The reasons for the 45% Nazi-vote, before 1933, are of a practical, economic nature. It was given not by class-conscious, politically schooled workers but by politically unripe, nationalistically infected and materially needy little buergers." A 27 year old, Catholic churchgoer, SPD supporter, bluntly states:..."To return to the much discussed collective guilt of the nation, I would only like to say that I, myself, personally feel before God and my own conscience just as decent as any good American. If all my guilt is only that I am a German, than I will bear it". In contrast to the CDU supporter who thought Hindenburg "an honest military man", a 61 old, SPD supporter says: "...the main guilt in that the Nazis came to power at all, rests with Hindenburg. Had he not put the entire power in the hands of that man, everything would have been different..". Finally, a 21 year old girl, a Catholic churchgoer, neatly sums up what so many other respondents say in different words: "To understand how Hitler, without any great difficulties or resistance, came into power, one has to consider the lethargic and even desperate mood in which the German people found themselves between 1918 and 1933. This reached its peak in 1932. Driven from election to election, again and again hoping for a way out and again and again disappointed, they were ready to clasp the first hand that promised a way out of this misery.... That there was no serious resistance even later is due to the fact that the people did find the promised bread and work. Thus the promises were not just empty words.. People were willing to accept strict measures, they were used to it already since 1914 ... even the Democracies know the law which punishes all those who want to undermine the existing form of state..."

Among respondents who are followers of the Communist Party the conditional recognition of collective guilt is more frequent. There is only one of the 124 respondents -a Communist- who squarely admits the Germans' collective guilt, though with the reservation that the western Powers must share in it. The emphasis on the lack of working class unity is also more pronounced among the Communists. Otherwise, all the other respondents use the same arguments as the CDU and SPD followers, with more or less emphasis on the individual items. It is noteworthy that a certain number of respondents, irrespective of Party allegiance, express their doubts regarding the authenticity of the last two elections in Germany before Hitler's rise to power.

VIII. Up to what point should the individual obey his Government? Are there cases when it is the duty of the individual to disobey the orders and directives of his Government?

The overwhelming majority of the replies show a marked lack of thinking on this subject. Analytical approach is completely absent with one or two exceptions. Instead of stating their views on the question, most respondents give apologetic descriptions on the extent of terror which made resistance to the Nazi regime impossible.

About 90% of CSU and CDU supporters, and about 70% of all respondents, give short and general answers maintaining that everyone has to obey as long as it does not lead to conflict with his "conscience" or with "Christian morals." Very few go further, to specify what these mean and at what point or in what form should it lead to active resistance.

CSU and CDU supporters see the individual's attitude towards his Government regulated by religious principles. Some maintain that as long as the Government follows the interest of the public, it deserves support. Many think that if the Government does not compel them to undertake actions for which they can not be responsible before their fellow human beings, it is worthy of support.

SPD followers have a somewhat more definite approach. They speak of strike, open protest, efficient Parliamentary system and persistence in facing the consequences of protests. SPD supporters also think that "collision with one's conscience" is the limit of obedience towards the Government. Many of them say that a well-drafted democratic constitution should be sufficient safeguard against dictatorial attempts. On the more practical side, private economic interests by Ministers, are described as the limit where civil disobedience should start.

KPD supporters state almost unanimously that if a Government compels its citizen to act against their conscience, the only way to resist is to use similar methods. As a young man of 32 says: "Force has to be met by force and terror by terror." According to him, there is no other safeguard. A 47 year old painter, who "hesitates between the CSU and the KPD" answered the question with the one word: "Murder".

IX. Is there, in your view, any possibility that the Nazis or some similar group (not as National Socialists but something similar) could emerge and would attempt to seize power? Details, why does he think that the possibility exists?

Answers are sharply divided between two roughly equal groups believing and disbelieving such a possibility. As the question did not specify whether the coup would be under or after occupation, it is worth mentioning that nearly all respondents expressed their belief that such a possibility was out of question while the occupation lasted. Though attitudes to the question were by no means decided by party-political attitude, there are certain trends noticeable according to party political allegiance. It is evident that CDU and CSU supporters show less anxiety about the possibility of the resurgence of Nazism. Their fears are mainly centred around a possible dictatorship "from the Left". They often regard denazification as very thorough and practically accomplished. SPD supporters, on the other hand, very often count on the possibility of re-emergence of the Nazis or some similar group. They often mention separatist tendencies, the Bavarian Monarchist Party, and in some cases, even the CDU, as a possible camouflage, or even beginning of a Nazi come-back. KPD supporters also see the danger in camouflaged reactionary organisations or parties which may become a reservoir for ex-Nazis. Some of them regard a powerful right-wing block, including all "reactionaries" as inevitable, as a "bulwark against rising Socialism."

Where opinion is expressed about the factors which might favor a Nazi resurgence, the following reasons are mentioned, in order of frequency: a) material difficulties and misery, b) unjust and harsh occupational policy, c) nationalist reaction, together with division of Reich, d) admission of reactionary parties, Bavarian Monarchists most often mentioned, e) problem of homeless refugees and unemployed ex-PWs. Where opinions are expressed about the factors which make a Nazi resurgence impossible, the following reasons are mentioned, in order of frequency: a) presence of occupation troops, b) last 12 years and war taught a lesson to everyone, c) strong left parties, in connection with which several respondents mention the desirability of a united workers' party, d) stricter international interdependence and surveillance in the frame of the new international organization.

The overwhelming majority of respondents, including those who regard a Nazi revival impossible do expect scattered resistance movements and underground organisations. Most of them expect them to be organized by lingering SS men and HJ-fuehrers. Several respondents including those who regard a revival of the Nazis impossible, express anxiety that a strong central German government should exist at the time the occupation troops leave Germany "to prevent a reactionary coup".

The following three opinions illustrate the range of views represented by the CDU:

A 64 year old, bank director in Bavaria, a Catholic churchgoer, writes: "This possibility doesn't exist any more as the people don't want to hear of them. Every such attempt in Bavaria would be impossible. The Bavarian wants his privacy, his freedom, his beer and his good piece of bread. The Nazis are finished." A businessman, 56, also Catholic churchgoer, says: "It depends on whether the moderate parties will succeed in enlisting the masses of the people in their ranks. If they succeed, a renewed attempt by the Nazis, or similar groups, would be impossible. If the shortages and misery can not be

eased, no one will be able to stop a new radicalism." A 60 year old savings-bank director, local functionary of the CDU, says: "It is possible; as the SS man who are not yet under control, work under cover. It would be necessary to exterminate Nazism with fire and steel."

A 34 year old employee and SPD supporter, thinks that there is a danger of Nazi return because "up to now the key positions in the civil service were not 100% denazified, and because of the rising hunger and misery, and partly as the result of the division of the Reich." A 59 year old, Catholic deputy buergermeister, SPD supporter, believes that momentarily there is no such danger. It could arise if "for instance, the so-called Monarchist Party would gain ground. I am, however, convinced that this can not happen if the SPD wins more support among the people, a result we can expect. A further danger may arise through the fact that in the CDU congregate the former members of the Right Parties and the Nazis. They may attempt again, at the given moment, to seize power." A Catholic employee, who describes himself as NSDAP "Mitläufer" from 1937, at present a supporter of the SPD, gives a very systematic answer to the question. "The possibility exists. In my view, the motivating forces of such a movement would be 1) Deutsch-Nationale, Military-Junkers, and Capitalist circles of the older Wilhelmian type. 2) National Socialists, especially regulars like professional soldiers and HJ-Führers. The two groups who would sympathize with the movement led by the former two, would be: 1) the wide bourgeois circles who still don't realize that the collapse of 1945 eliminated Germany, for an unlimited period, as a power factor, and still dream of imperialism 2) Many extreme-nationalistic bourgeois circles, who narrow-mindedly expect that a Deutsch-Nationale turn over would ensure a barrier against Communism. Precondition to a putch is that no occupation troops should be in the country. After all, not even the Nazis are so stupid that they should attempt a putch against the "panzers" of the occupation troops."

A 42 year old Bavarian landowner who left the Church in 1931 and describes himself as a supporter of the KPD, writes: "Yes. I don't think a coup led by National Socialists would be possible, but in some other form. There is a possibility in the form of Monarchy, through groups whose program it is to turn back historic progress, or perhaps under the cloak of the Church, which -of course- would have nothing to do with religion. An attempt can always be made to bind men's religious cravings to the chariot of reaction. Especially here in Bavaria this danger is latent."

X. In case the National Socialists or some other group would attempt to seize political power, would there be a possibility to prevent it? How would it be prevented, provided that such an attempt, to take over power, would be made after the evacuation of the occupation forces?

Most respondents think that such a possibility can be ruled out. CDU supporters seem to be more convinced of this than SPD or KPD followers. It is significant that practically all respondents speak of the occupation in a tone implying that it benefits Germany insofar as it prevents civil war. Equally significant is an apparently widespread practice of speaking of democracy as something that can be accomplished by a certain date. References like "after two years, when democracy will be established in Germany" or "by the time the occupation ends democracy will be established in Germany", and the like, indicate a complete miscomprehension of the organic nature of a democratic society.

The majority of the respondents think that if such an attempt would be made it would mean civil war. About the same proportion think that after the experiences of the last two decades the democratic parties would prevent any development which might lead to such a coup. At least half the respondents believe that the Allies would immediately intervene, and an appreciable minority think that it would be the duty of an international organization (many name the UNO) to act in such a case. About 5% express the wish that U.S. forces should not leave the country before "democracy is safely established". Only about 1% believe that, should any group decide to attempt such a putsch, nothing could be done to prevent or stop it. Generally speaking, there seems to be some contradiction in the attitude of the majority by belittling the possibility of an armed putsch attempt of the Nazis (or a similar group) and at the same time supposing that such an attempt would lead to civil war, implying two, more or less, equally strong groups as opponents.

The minority which offers remedies against a possible attempt, name: 1) general strike, 2) strong police action to crush the first attempts, 3) inviting foreign help, 4) nationalization of major industries, and 5) well armed, democratic police. Universal is the belief that no such attempt will be made and, in any case, it could not succeed, while the occupation of Germany lasts.

A 60 year old evangelic churchgoer of academic education, and with an unusually high income, a CSU supporter, says: "The more the occupation authorities support the people ready to participate in reconstruction, and the more democratic strivings receive support in Germany and the more little people are shown generosity, - the more will the positive forces be strengthened and the destructive ones weakened and finally driven from the scene...." A farmer of 52 who gave very short and definite answers to all questions, answered the present one relating to action against resurgent Nazis, with the following five words: "To murder the whole band."

A 49 year old, ex-PW, SPD supporter and writer, says: "The best way to prevent a revival of Nazism is... in a thoroughly democratic educational system. As long as a foreign-occupation army is on German soil, there is no chance of a Nazi return, provided that all the crazy rumors which circulate in Bavaria, and speak of a friendly treatment of the SS, even of regular military training of the SS in the Lechfeld (near Augsburg) Lager, will prove to be untrue. These rumors should be countered by facts, perhaps through the radio.... People are receptive to such stuff, after the last 12 years... It means the complete undermining of democracy when it is printed in the German papers that former political leaders of the NSDAP receive better care in their camps than the politically clean German workers... What the political panorama in Germany will be like at the time of the evacuation of the Allied Forces I would not dare to predict, in view of the uncertainty of that date. As I said, everything depends on whether the aim is to further the pacification of mankind or to sow new hatreds and new bitterness." A Bayreuth Landrat, 50, says: "The Nazis will make the attempt as soon as the occupation forces leave. 1) It is possible to prevent it only through maintaining all position in public life by real democrats who can be tough against the enemies of democracy. 2) This, again, is possible only if only democratic Parties can be active. 3) The Police must be composed of absolutely democratic elements. 4) All Attempts to change the democratic form of state, must be treated as a crime."

A 48 year old, higher employee, supporter of the KPD, thinks that the prevention of a coup is possible "only through a close co-operation of all workers and all reconstruction-minded forces in the German people, Trade Unions, SPD, KPD, in a united front against any kind of reaction."

XI. What are the main duties of the State towards its citizens? What will be the main duties of the German Government towards the German people, after the evacuation of the occupation troops? What do you expect, personally, from your Government?

About 75% of respondents think that the satisfaction of essentially material needs is the first duty of the State towards its citizens. Only about 25% think individual freedom the most important requirement. Individual freedom, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, "no secret police whatsoever" and religious freedom are the requirements most often mentioned together with full employment, "bread" and care for the war casualties, the old and the children. After these two main groups, normal daily requirements follow, typical of the momentary needs of the respondent's living conditions or geographical location. Rebuilding of cities, renewed export trade, inter-zonal trade, provision of raw materials, more homes and better health services fall in this category. A large proportion of respondents name establishment of friendly international relations as the chief demand of the people on their Government. It usually goes without other, detailed requirements, indicating that the respondent regards friendly relations with foreign States as a guarantee of, and frame to, a prosperous existence of Germany.

Some of the respondents answered the question quite unrealistically. One, for instance, speaks about "a standard of living higher than before the war". Many other replies indicate that most people don't differentiate between a higher standard of living and a more equal distribution of national wealth. A surprising number of respondents use the following expression, or its approximate paraphrase: "a standard of living, corresponding to the character of the nation" (a lingering heritage of the Herrenvolk theory.)

There seems to be a widespread reaction to Government intervention in social and economic life. It is expressed in the very frequent reply that "the Government should let the people live undisturbed". There is an equally widespread and unrealistic expectation of all-over social services from cradle to grave, without any consideration of the State's ability to provide it. War casualties expect care from the State, and the majority expects the State to provide better health services and care for the old and the young.

A middle aged business executive, CDU supporter, expressed his wishes in the following three points: 1) Bread and satisfactory standard of living. 2) To be able to work undisturbed and in peace. 3) To find admission to the world family of nations." A 57 year old, ex-PG of academic profession, now CSU supporter, enumerates his requirements, as follows: "1) Personal liberty, 2) No arbitrary justice, 3) Securing the right of every citizen to work, 4) Education of youth through schools and not Parties, 5) Protection of private property, 6) No secret police, 7) Responsibility of leading officials and Ministers to the people, 8) Possibility to punish members of the Government for actions against the public."

A 37 year old skilled worker, supporter of the SPD, says: "The main duty is to secure peace and good relations with the neighbouring countries. These days and in the future, no country can be out of step. We all have to form one community."

A teacher, 35, adherent of the KPD, writes: "The Government must give the possibility of the individual to express fully his personality. It must secure a satisfactory standard of the individual and enlighten him about the political actions of the State. The State must undertake this work of enlightenment to enable the people to understand the political and administrative problems of the day. This must be done, however, without a Propaganda Ministerium but with simple and sober education. I, personally, expect the realisation of a workers' democracy. This is the only possibility for me to see the continuity of our nation's life."

- END -



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